

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15
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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9591
INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 3604

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, US, TZ

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: NYERERE'S CURRENT VIEWS

REF: USUN 03193

1. SUMMARY; PRESIDENT NYERERE NOW SEES ONLY TWO POSSIBLE PATHS TO SOLUTION OF RHODESIA PROBLEM: (A) A REASSERTION OF UK AUTHORITY, PERHAPS THROUGH AN ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE, AND (B) ANOTHER MAJOR EFFORT BY FRONT LINE (FL) STATES TO FORGE TRUE PATRIOTIC FRONT UNITY BEFORE MILITARY VICTORY IS ACHIEVED. LATTER WOULD PREVENT CIVIL WAR BUT WOULD LEAVE NO PLACE FOR WHITES IN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE. END SUMMARY.

2. INSPIRED BY REFTEL, I TOOK OCCASION OF MEETING WITH NYERERE MIDDAY AUGUST 22 TO LAUNCH HOUR'S DISCUSSION OF SITUATION IN RHODESIA. I SAID WE THOUGHT WE WERE GETTING CLOSE TO AN ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE, GAVE OUR ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT
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SITUATION, AND ASKED HIS REACTION TO SOME OF THE QUESTION POSED REFTEL AND HIS VIEWS ON WHAT SHOULD COME NEXT. CONVERSATION WAS AT HIS MSASANI HOUSE. ONE OF HIS PRIVATE SECRETARIES WAS PRESENT FOR FIRST PART OF IT.

3. NYERERE SAID THAT HE WASN'T SURE THINGS HAD CHANGED AS MUCH AS WE MIGHT THINK. THE WAR IS GOING WELL; SMITH'S DAYS ARE

NUMBERED, BUT THEY ARE NOT UP YET. NYERERE STILL HAS HOPES FOR THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN (A-AP) AND THE LAST THING HE WANTS IS FOR US TO SHELVE IT. HOWEVER, HE IS NOW BEING FORCED TO THINK OF WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THE PF IN ITS PRESENT DISUNITED STATE WINS THE WAR.

4. FRANKLY, SAID NYERERE, IF THE PF WERE UNITED, I WOULD TELL YOU TO LET THE A-AP WITHER AWAY. BUT THE PF IS NOT UNITED AND UNLESS I AND MY COLLEAGUES ARE ABLE TO FORCE A UNITY WE FAILED TO ACHIEVE BEFORE, THE RESULT WILL BE A BLOODY CIVIL WAR BETWEEN ZANU AND ZAPU AND GREAT LIKELIHOOD OF OUTSIDE INTERVENTION. AT THE VERY LEAST, THEREFORE, NYERERE SAID, HE IS GOING TO MAKE ANOTHER MAJOR EFFORT TO GET THE PF TO UNITE AND TO DEVELOP SPECIFIC PROGRAM AS TO HOW IT WOULD RUN THE COUNTRY AFTER INDEPENDENCE. NYERERE IS PREPARED TO GO AROUND HIMSELF TO ALL OF HIS FRONT LINE COLLEAGUES TOWARD THIS END BUT HE IS NOT SURE IT WILL WORK EVEN SO.

5. WHEN I ASKED HOW THIS TIED IN WITH OUR HOPES FOR AN ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE, NYERERE SAID WE MOST DEFINITELY SHOULD NOT STOP OUR EFFORTS TO PUT THE A-AP ACROSS. "GO AHEAD AND TRY FOR A MEETING." NYERERE SAW LITTLE ADVANTAGE, HOWEVER, IN MERELY A "HIGHER LEVEL GRAHAM-LOW" NEGOTIATING SESSION. IF WE CAN'T GET SMITH TO TURN OVER POWER BY AGREEMENT, THE UK WILL HAVE TO MOVE DIRECTLY TO TAKE IT. IF EVENTS LEAD TO A PF MILITARY VICTORY AND CIVIL WAR AS NYERERE FEARS, THE UK WILL HAVE
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TO GO IN ANYWAY. THIS WOULDN'T END THE WAR AND IT WOULD BE CATASTROPIC FOR THE WEST'S POSITION IN AFRICA. THE UK, PERHAPS USING THE ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE TO MAKE ITS INTENTIONS CLEAR, SHOULD GO IN NOW WHEN IT CAN HAVE A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE, I.E., PREVENT A CIVIL WAR, PRESERVE A DECENT PLACE FOR ALL RHODESIANS, AND GIVE INTERNATIONAL RESPECTABILITY TO A SETTLEMENT. THE UK'S "HOLDING THE RING" IS STILL THE ESSENTIAL PART OF A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. WITHOUT THIS, THERE WILL BE CHAOS AND NO ROLE AT ALL FOR THE WHITES IN AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE.

6. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THE PF WOULD PUT UP WITH BRITISH ACTION OF THIS KIND (QUITE APART FROM WHETHER OR NOT SMITH WOULD), NYERERE SAID HE HONESTLY DIDN'T KNOW, BUT IT WAS WORTH TRYING. WHEN I ASKED IF HE COULD CONCEIVE OF ANY NEW ELEMENT THAT WOULD MAKE A BRITISH REASSERTION OF AUTHORITY MORE FEASIBLE, SPECIFICALLY PERHAPS A RHODESIAN GOVERNOR GENERAL, NYERERE SAID HE SUPPOSED, IF IT WOULD HELP, THE BRITISH COULD STILL PULL OUT SOME EQUIVALENT OF TODD.

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7. NYERERE ENDED BY URGING: (A) THAT WE NOT UNDERSTIMATE SMITH ("WE DON'T HAVE HIM YET. BUT WE WILL IF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HOLDS FIRM."), (B) THAT WE CONTINUE TO PUSH THE A-AP AS THE RIGHT WAY TO SETTLE RHODESIA FOR EVERYONE, (C) THAT WE GO AHEAD WITH OUR ALL PARTIES MEETING, (D) WHILE NYERERE GOES AHEAD WITH HIS NEW PF UNITY EFFORT, AND (E) WE BOTH TRY TO GET THE BRITISH TO REASSERT THEIR AUTHORITY IN RHODESIA BY WHATEVER MEANS NECESSARY.

8. COMMENT: IN MY JUDGMENT, NYERERE'S OWN THINKING HAS SHIFTED SOMEWHAT SINCE THE MALTA II MEETING IN DAR ES SALAAM. HE STILL SEES THE A-AP AS THE IDEAL SOLUTION AND HE WOULD STILL BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT IT WITH THE PF AND OTHER AFRICANS, ALTHOUGH PROBABLY NOT SO SPECIFICALLY AND ENERGETICALLY AS HE DID AT THE DAR MEETING.

9. NYERERE IS NOW SEEING THINGS IN MORE POLARIZED TERMS. A DENOUEMENT IN RHODESIA IS MORE LIKELY TO COME AS A RESULT OF
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SMITH'S BEING FORCED TO "SURRENDER" (OR WHATEVER EQUIVALENT BUT MORE FACE-SAVING TERM CAN BE FOUND). THIS CAN COME ABOUT EITHER THROUGH DARING BRITISH ACTION TO REASSERT AUTHORITY (WHICH

NYERERE IS NOT ALL SURE THE UK IS PREPARED TO TAKE) OR THROUGH PF CONTINUATION OF THE MILITARY STRUGGLE TO THE END -- WHICH WILL PROBABLY LEAD TO CIVIL WAR AND, AS NYERERE PUT IT, "AT THE VERY LEAST, ANOTHER ANGOLAN SITUATION."

10. THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS, I THINK, ARE THAT NYERERE IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE AT LEAST WILL BE TACKLING THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM IN A MORE INDEPENDENT (OR AFRICAN) WAY THAN HE HAS IN THE RECENT PAST. WE WILL GET ENTHUSIASTIC COOPERATION FROM HIM FOR NEW IDEAS OR STRONG NEW APPROACHES, BUT NOT MUCH HELP ON QUESTIONS LIKE WHAT SHOULD BE ON THE AGENDA FOR AN ALL PARTIES MEETING, ETC.

11. WE WILL ALSO FIND HIM FIRMER THAN EVER ON HIS OLD PROPOSITION THAT THERE CAN BE NO ROOM FOR SMITH IN ANY RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT. AND IF WE FIND OURSELVES HUNG UP ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE ICHORD AMENDMENT OR SOME OTHER ASPECT OF US PUBLIC OPINION, NYERERE'S REACTION MAY WELL BE THAT THAT IS JUST TOO BAD FOR US.

12. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, MY FEELING IS THAT WE SHOULD GO AHEAD WITH ALL PARTIES MEETING, BUT DO ALL WE CAN AT IT TO GET THE BRITISH TO MOVE SOME FURTHER STEPS TOWARD ASSUMING RESPONSIBILITY. (AFTER ALL, OUR ORIGINAL IDEA THAT SMITH IS PROBABLY PREPARED TO TURN OVER MORE TO THE UK THAN HE IS TO THE PF MAY STILL BE SOUND.) AT THE SAME TIME WE SHOULD STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH NYERERE ON HIS EFFORT AT PF UNITY, PROMOTING WITH HIM THE IDEA OF ENCOURAGING THE PF TO PROVIDE AS GOOD A DEAL AS POSSIBLE FOR RHODESIAN WHITES BECAUSE OF THE ADDED INTERNATIONAL RESPECTABILITY THIS WOULD GIVE ANY INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE.

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13. IF WE SCAN THE WHOLE HORIZON, OF COURSE, THERE IS ANOTHER ALTERNATIVE. IF THE PF'S STOCK WITH NYERERE IS LOW, SO IS HIS WITH NKOMO AND MUGABE. WE COULD TURN AWAY FROM COOPERATION WITH NYERERE AND RECONSIDER THE OLD IDEA THAT A COMBINATION BY ANY THREE OF THE FOUR RHODESIAN PARTIES WOULD MAKE A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION POSSIBLE. INSTEAD OF ACCEPTING PF UNITY, WE MIGHT SEEK TO PROMOTE AN ARRANGEMENT AMONG SMITH, THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS, AND NKOMO. HOWEVER, THIS WOULD APPEAR FROM HERE TO BE A HIGH-RISK COURSE IN TERMS BOTH OF OUR IMAGE IN AFRICA AND OF THE DANGER IT WOULD BRING OF CIVIL AND TRIBAL WAR, AS WELL AS GREAT POWER CONFRONTATION IN AFRICA. AND IT WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY MEAN THE END OF ANY FURTHER COOPERATION WITH NYERERE.

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